1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

Thus, while marriage outside the village is preferred, it is far from being a strict pattern in the Hsin Hsing area. Villagers do not frown upon nor criticize intravillage marriages, though they good-naturedly joke about the manner in which they were supposedly brought about. This, however, in no way appears to injure the status of the families or of the couple.

The most basic factor favoring marriage outside the village is the family's desire to extend and solidify its connections with new families in different places, most preferably with families with which there is no already existing *ch'in ch'i* relationship. Families in a village like Hsin Hsing, where they have a limited number of *tsu* relatives, feel it a definite advantage to extend their connections to families with which they can have relationships not marred by the enforced intimacy which so often spoils the relations between *ch'in tsu* or fellow villagers. Marriage between two Hsin Hsing families technically produces a *ch'in ch'i* relationship, but proximity tends to produce an enforced intimacy which has the disadvantages without the advantages of the *ch'in tsu* bond. The courtesy and warmth normally typical between *ch'in ch'i* is eroded by the frequent contact and increased opportunities for conflict.

Cousin Marriage

Although, as already indicated, there is a definite surname exogamy and a preference for marriage outside the village, there is no preference for any form of cousin marriage over noncousin marriage in the Hsin Hsing village area of Taiwan. It would be convenient if, on the basis of investigations made on the mainland, such a nonpreference as found in this area of Taiwan could be shown to be universal for Chinese society; however, the relatively few published studies that deal with aspects of cousin marriage in mainland China differ greatly in their findings. For example, the literature indicates that of the two possible forms of cross-cousin marriage—with mother's brother's daughter (matrilateral) or father's sister's daughter (patrilateral)—in some mainland areas considerable feeling is expressed against one or the other or both, but particularly against the patrilateral form. In many parts of China the latter is technically allowed, but not socially acceptable in practice. Thus the over-all picture is both confused and confusing, and the only present certainty is that the patterns of practice and acceptance vary widely throughout mainland China.[7]

In the Hsin Hsing village area, while there is acceptance of some forms of cousin marriage, no single type is actually preferred to noncousin marriage, and although most forms of cousin marriage are technically allowed, they are not equally acceptable. It is thus apparent that in this area, like many on the mainland, the allowance of cross-cousin marriage is certainly not symmetrical.[8] In any case, in Hsin

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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to be inherited from her family, then no matter where the family lives, all the children are supposed to worship both sets of ancestors. If there is property, once the second child has received his inheritance he or she and the mother worship the mother's ancestors, while the father (adopted husband) and the children in his descent line worship his ancestors. When the second child (who has been given the mother's surname) is a girl, it is not unlikely that a husband will be brought in for her in order to carry on the maternal line. There are cases in Taiwan, and one in Hsin Hsing village, where a village family for several generations has become in a sense matrilineal as well as matrilocal, at least until a male heir is born.

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Barclay (1954b:228–229) finds that this matrilocal form of marriage, where the husband is adopted and lives with his wife's family, has been very common in Taiwan for many years; between 1906 and 1930, 15 to 20 percent of all Taiwanese marriages were of this matrilocal type. However, the frequency of the practice has been decreasing, until in 1945 only 6.2 percent of all marriages in Taiwan were of this form (Barclay, 1954b:229, Table 69). Barclay notes that this decrease has been constant, for "when men were no longer obliged to marry on these degrading terms, they began to shun this type of marriage. Because it was inconsistent with the rest of the family system, matrilocal marriage presented a special occasion for discord—men were led to expect one kind of familial role as husbands, but required to accept another one that was inferior."

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There are only six adopted husbands recorded for Hsin Hsing village. It is thus difficult to see any tendency toward or against the practice in Hsin Hsing village itself. These six adoptions have taken place since approximately 1900, and according to the present ages of the surviving men, four were adopted into the village well before World War II and only two were adopted afterward. These same records show that only one Hsin Hsing villager was adopted out of the village between 1949 and 1957.

Remarriage

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According to the ideal norms of Chinese society a woman should marry only once, and a young widow who does not remarry is often greatly honored. A woman's natal family is responsible only for arranging her first marriage; any subsequent marriage is theoretically her own responsibility. The family of her first husband, whether he died or there was a divorce, also bears little responsibility for helping her to remarry.

In actuality, however, many divorced or widowed women do remarry. And a second marriage, although never given the same honor as the first marriage, may nevertheless be sanctioned by society accord-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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complete their education and so speak little if any Kuo-yu. Therefore, sometime during the preconscription age of twenty to twenty-two the government requires all males who have not completed primary school to attend special Kuo-Yu classes at the local primary school. The local police see to it that these boys attend the classes by imposing fines on the families of the negligent.

In general, the villagers disapprove of forced military service and deeply resent the conscription of men with families. The service imposes many hardships on the families, since it means a loss of farm labor and actual income. While the government assumes some financial responsibility for the families of such men, the aid is slow in coming, and when it does arrive, it is usually insufficient. Moreover, the soldier's pay is so small that rural families have to send their sons or husbands in the army additional spending money almost every month.

In addition to their concern about the hardships conscription imposes on the families, the villagers also fear for the safety of their sons and husbands. Many of the boys from the area are stationed on the offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu, rightly considered dangerous places. However, in spite of the many problems, one attitude the villagers express, at least in public, is that "like taxes, military service is every man's duty."

In most instances, before a group of villagers leaves to begin service in the army, several functions are held to "send the men off." The night before the departure a village *pai-pai* is held in which the gods are asked to speed the safe return of the conscripts. Every village family participates, each bringing a basket of sacrifice foods to the court of one of the larger village *tsu* houses. Here a shaman (*fa shih*) performs a ritual, inviting the gods to come and partake of the food offerings. At the conclusion of the ritual, each family takes its own food home and eats it for their evening meal.

That same night before the men leave, a large subscription dinner may be held in honor of the draftees. While every village family participates in the *pai-pai*, many families do not take part in this large dinner. Usually, only families which are friendly with the draftees' families will pay the subscription price and send a representative to attend. The representative may be the family head himself or a young son of sixteen years or more. One or two of the village men who earn extra income as cooks on various occasions prepare this dinner at no charge, and several village men and/or boys volunteer to serve the food. Some of the women usually help in the kitchen. At the dinner there is a good deal of drinking and drinking games, joking, and storytelling. In addition, some of the more respected *tsu* leaders or elected officials make speeches.

The next morning the men are sent off by most of the village. The

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

them to resort to ritual means. Neither their own nor their neighbor's consciences would allow them to let a member of the family die without the attempt to benefit from supernatural intervention.

It was probably these two factors, social pressure and fear of leaving any method untried, which opened the way for the very notable acceptance of Western medicine in Taiwan. While the skeptic is thus forced by them to call upon the shaman, the traditionalists are likewise forced to call upon Western medicine when traditional methods have failed. As we saw in the case of the baby girl who died, the village did not feel that calling even upon two shamans was a clear indication that the family wanted the child to live; it was strongly felt that a Western doctor should have been called in as well. The general disapproval is not simply an example of the increased faith in Western medicine, but a reflection of a total attitude toward the control of unknown and powerful forces. After all, the microbe theory of illness is often, even in the enlightened West, only another species of demonology.

Many of the functions of the magical rituals we have just discussed are also similar for the religious (*pai-pai*) rites. People look forward to the many *pai-pai* held in the village area. At the very least they offer a change in the daily routine of life. Many of them are occasions filled with thrills and excitement (*je nao*). This is particularly true of shamanistic rituals, and scores of villagers may flock to the scene of the performance. Young boys and men who have worked in Taipei and who, for various reasons, have been forced to return to the village almost always attend such events. These men seem to yearn for something to replace the excitement of the city.

Since community pressures for thrift also have tended to standardize the villagers' diet, even the most insignificant *pai-pai* represents an opportunity to eat better than ordinary food. A village family, unless wealthy, is criticized for eating any but the simplest food on ordinary days. People gossip behind their backs about their extravagance and general lack of thrift. Then, if the family should have to borrow money or need village aid at a future date, people may cite their extravagance and irresponsibility as a reason for refusing them. Thus, even the simplest *pai-pai*, like those held on the first, second, fifteenth, and sixteenth of each month, offer people a welcome justification for eating good food, and the bigger the *pai-pai*, the better the food.

The most obvious functions of the *pai-pai* are often recognized by the villagers themselves. There are several other important functions that the villagers may not talk about unless they are questioned about them.

Although in the process of organizing and administering *pai-pai*

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

It becomes evident then that there has been significant change in the traditional Chinese value toward the land held earlier. Were it not for fellow villagers and *ch'in tsu* who still are critical of those who sell off their land in the indiscriminate manner in which it is so often done today, and for those villagers who still prefer the village and the agricultural way of life, it would be tempting to deny almost completely any residue of the feeling of "reverence or intimacy" toward the land which the peasant may have held in the past.

The villagers' attitude toward education is another evidence of the lack of real attachment to the land and village. Education to them means a way to rise above the life of a farmer or farm worker, although they do not necessarily expect it to raise them to civil service or elite status. Their primary interest in education is the attainment of an easier life, financial betterment, and power for the individual family. Thus, typically, village farmers want their daughters to marry businessmen. Education has far less inherent value of its own per se than it had in the Confucian tradition, and the materialistic ambitions are against the tradition as well.

Today there are few well-educated villagers who remain active in village affairs in the Hsin Hsing area. Usually, they go into business outside the village or accept employment in local government, such as in the district Public Office. When a man establishes a business outside the village area, as we saw happening after the land reform, he usually shifts his social as well as his economic interests. Once he accepts a position in local government, the educated villager tends to become cliquish and spend most of his time with high-status fellow government employees. Because of his position, he may be called upon by his village to help in certain problem situations, but generally, he takes little interest in most of his village's affairs and does little to furnish leadership. To a great degree nowadays in rural Taiwan, as a result of the new paths to status, education has come to have consequences contrary to the traditional function of education in the society. It now tends to foster greater individualism and detachment from the village and the local larger kinship group, and at times even from one's family.

This attitude held toward the village by the educated man who, usually, is financially well off, begins during earlier student days. Almost immediately upon entering middle school, the bond between the student and his fellow villagers weakens—that is except for those who happen to be school chums. Thus, only in a limited number of cases do middle school graduates serve as leaders or innovators in their village. The relatively better educated village members rarely enrich any of the village community functions, nor do they by their own

in order to understand why village families acted in the way they did. What are the various forms of marriage? How are they arranged? By whom are they arranged? What obligations and expectations do they create? What rituals are associated with each form of marriage? What is the meaning of these rituals? The answers to these questions naturally depend in part upon whether we are talking about 1870 or 1960. The bride of 1870 traveled to her husband's home in a sedan chair carried by several strong men; the bride of 1960 made the trip in a hired car at the head of a caravan of taxis. There have also been some adjustments in the rituals of marriage and adoption, but by and large the rules which governed these social transfers were still recognized and accepted in Hsiachichou in 1960. We will therefore describe these institutions as though we were dealing with a single point in time rather than with a period of ninety years.

Although we are not prepared here to argue why it should be so, it is clear that what we have called the preferred patrilocal marriage is the more socially desirable form of marriage in Hsiachichou. It is the preferred form in the sense that it is the form of marriage which everyone would choose if form were the only consideration. When the villagers speak of marriage in general, they always mean the preferred patrilocal form of marriage, and the assumption that it is <u>the</u> form of marriage is clearly not new. The ritual procedures for enacting the preferred form of marriage are much more elaborate than for any of the other forms of marriage, and the villagers themselves regard the ritual associated with these other forms of marriage as having been modeled

upon the preferred form of marriage. It is therefore both convenient and appropriate for us to begin our description of marriage practices in Hsiachichou with the preferred patrilocal marriage.

Theoretically at least, a preferred marriage may involve any man and woman previously unmarried who are not of the same surname, marriage between people of the same surname being considered incestuous. In fact, however, the selection of a bride in Hsiachichou has always been guided by other equally important though somewhat less formal considerations. At the beginning of the period with which we will be concerned marriage between persons of different mainland origins was unthinkable even when both parties were speakers of Hokkien. Frequent armed conflicts between the Changchou and Chuanchou sectors of the society created a strong sense of antagonism and mutual suspicion, and as a result ethnic lines were sharply drawn and seldom violated. As we have mentioned in discussing the general character of the village, it was not until the early 1920's that the first Changchou woman married into Hsiachichou, a Chuanchou village. More recently, this particular distinction has lost some of its former significance. One elderly villager told us that "Changchou people still tell their children to marry a person from Changchou, and Chuanchou people still tell their sons to marry a Chuanchou girl," but despite such attitudes marriages between the two groups have been less uncommon during the last twenty years. Although one can still identify families of different origins by the gods they worship and the way in which they sacrifice to their ancestors, many younger people are unaware of the significance of these

584 aunts urging her to keep her finger stiff and not let the mother-in-
606 law dominate her. Although in most instances either the mother-in-law or the daughter-in-law will give in to the other, it occasionally happens that two strong willed women meet, and there is then a brief but tense struggle as the ring is placed on the girl's finger, this possibility being the issue which gives a sense of climax to every engagement.

584 When the two parties to a marriage are both very poor they may
585 agree to hold the engagement and wedding on the same day as a means of
• 183 saving money, but it is generally recognized in Hsiachichou that to be proper the engagement and wedding should be separated by at least a year. The result is that most weddings take place quite some time after the engagement. Families who cannot afford a separate engagement and wedding will not ordinarily undertake the preferred form of marriage at all, preferring to adopt a "little daughter-in-law", while those families who can afford the preferred marriage will usually not want
[594] to risk their face by telescoping the engagement and wedding. As we shall see later, one of the primary motivations for undertaking the preferred form of marriage is that the cost of such a marriage gives a family an opportunity for enhancing their social standing, and so any family which chooses to undertake such a marriage is not going to offset the prestige of the marriage by carrying it out in anything but the proper manner.

585 The wedding which climaxes the preferred form of marriage is always an occasion of some magnitude. The typical village wedding is attended by at least a hundred people, and we witnessed one wedding which had

2:Wolf E-5 (1958-1961) 1964 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Hsiachichou

CHAPTER 4

THE ALTERNATIVES

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In the ideal Chinese world it would only be by means of the preferred patrilocal marriage that a person would exchange his status in one family for membership in another. Every family would bear sons who would marry and live with their parents, and every girl would leave her natal home as a young adult to become a daughter-in-law in her husband's family. Although we are very much inclined to doubt it, this ideal may have been realized in other parts of China. In Hsiachichou only a minority of the changes in family membership take place by means of the preferred marriage. Our genealogies include 167 cases of men and women who were born into village families which they later left by way of marriage or adoption, and 236 cases of men and women who were born elsewhere and later entered village families by marriage or adoption. Of these 167 persons leaving Hsiachichou 32 left by means of the preferred marriage, and of the 236 persons entering village families 74 came by way of the preferred marriage. Among those men and women who entered village families by way of adoption, 29 eventually married out of their foster families in the preferred way. We therefore find that of 196 persons leaving village families only 61 (31 percent) left by way of a preferred marriage, and of 236 persons entering village families only 74 (31 percent) came by way of a preferred marriage. While there can be no doubt that the preferred marriage was the ideal

583 way for a family to arrange its composition, it is obvious that there are
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582 other means which are just as important in practice.

584 In Hsiachichou a common alternative to the preferred marriage is
599 what we will hereafter refer to as the sĭm-pûà, or "little daughter-
583 in-law," form of marriage. Such marriages involve the male's family taking a prospective daughter-in-law into their household when the girl is still a child. She then grows up as a member of their kê much as though she were a daughter of the household, finally becoming a wife and daughter-in-law in the family when she is married to one of her foster family's sons. Although they may be adopted as late as four or five years of age, most sĭm-pûà enter their future husband's family at a very young age, the average being somewhere between two and two and a half years. A few of the sĭm-pûà adopted in Hsiachichou were actually nursed as infants by the women who later became their mothers-in-law. Women who had borne a female child after the birth of a son and who decided they wanted to arrange a sĭm-pûà marriage for the son gave away their own daughter and adopted another girl to drink their milk. While relatively rare simply because of the rarity of the necessary circumstances, such early adoptions are thought particularly desirable because "they make mother-in-law and daughter-in-law just like mother and daughter."

582 In the case of the preferred marriage the people of Hsiachichou
554 have a clear preference with regard to the relative social status of the bride's and groom's families. Ideally, the two families should occupy a nearly equal status, but if there is a discrepancy the bride

583 584 585 We were told by several informants in Hsiachichou that when a man marries into his wife's family the ritual should be a simple inversion of the ritual of the preferred form of marriage. By way of giving an example, one informant said that at the engagement the bride should sit facing her family altar instead of sitting with her back to the altar, this reversal symbolizing the fact that she is remaining in her family rather than leaving it. But whatever the procedure may be for carrying out the ideal matrilocal marriage, the fact is that in practice most matrilocal marriages are carried out with a minimum of ritual. [554] One reason for this is probably the simple fact that matrilocal marriages are not prestigeful, particularly not for the man who is marrying into his wife's family. There is no way in which a family can enhance their social position by having an elaborate engagement and marriage. Beyond this, there is the fact that the social situation of the matrilocal marriage is so different that there is no motivation for following the usual procedures. No man is willing to give a bride price when he is making a marriage which is not to his advantage, and there is no point in giving a dowry to a daughter who is not leaving the family. One man who married into Hsiachichou is reputed to have reversed the usual procedures and brought a dowry with him to his wife's family, but this was a very unusual case in which for some reason [585] the girl's family paid for the gifts. Marriage ritual is defined as the ritual of the preferred patrilocal marriage, and insofar as any marriage departs from this form it is without a ritual model.

593 the answers given were less equivocal. The majority agreed that the most
602 they could expect was "a cheap coffin," and many felt that even this was
889 setting one's expectations too high, one man replying that "they would
[189] just throw you in the river." The norms of the society enjoin a man to support an elderly and destitute relative, but there is little expectation that these norms will be honored. A man's only alternative therefore is to have children who are bound to him by the formal requirements of filial piety and the natural sentiment of the parent child relationship. As a villager explained, "On Taiwan no one asks you how much land you have. Here people ask you how many sons you have. You can work when you are young, but when you are old you have to have children to take care of you."

593 When asked the most important reason for having children, several
181 villagers insisted that economic security was the only reason. Playing
842 on Mencius's famous dictum, one man told us that "the most unfilial
888 thing a son could do was not to support his parents," and another younger man answered by quoting a proverb to the effect that "it is better to have money in one's pocket than sons in one's house." But like all sarcasm and most wit, these answers only have force as comments on an accepted value. A man must have sons to support him in his old age, and he must provide these sons with wives if he is to expect them to fulfill their obligations as sons, but were old age security his only concern his interest in descendants would end here. As we have seen already, most men do not live long enough even to see their grandchildren marry, and so there is little need for a man to have grandchildren

593 966 to punish him for being so unfilial. As one of our informants in Hsiachichou explained,

> "When you have a child you want him to take care of you when you are old and bury you when you die, but it is just the opposite if you have to bury him. It is because you are mad at him for failing you that you beat him."

583 183 554 What, then, are the considerations which make a family more or less likely to adopt a sīm-pûa rather than marrying their son in the preferred way? Certainly one of the most important is that the preferred form of marriage is by definition the proper way for a man to marry. The sīm-pûa form of marriage is not disgraceful but neither is it as right, as natural, as the preferred form. The difference between the two is analogous to the difference between speaking a language with an accent and speaking without an accent. Both will do, but one is right. The very fact that it is the right form of marriage also makes the preferred marriage the more prestigious. It is favored for the same reason that a church wedding is preferred over a civil wedding in the United States. It is the socially correct way of marrying. Moreover, like a church wedding in the United States, it gives a family an opportunity for social display and conspicious consumption. Being able to pay a large bride price, receiving an ostentatious dowry, entertaining hundreds of friends and relatives, displaying to your neighbors and fellow villagers the extent of your social ties -- all of these give a family face. One might say that the preferred marriage is better than the sīm-pûa form of marriage for the same reason that a terazzo floor is better than a simple concrete floor.

daughter-in-law obtained in the preferred way will almost inevitably come into open conflict with her husband's mother, and as a result will often attempt to cause trouble between her husband and his parents as a means of escaping from the family. Such a marriage therefore constitutes a threat to the parents' security in their old age, beyond the more subtle fracture it produces in the mother's exclusive relationship with her son. By comparison, the girl who is adopted as a sīm-pûà is usually submissive and obedient in her relations with her husband's mother. Whatever tensions may exist in the situation are offset by the two women's long association and by the social fact that the younger woman is both a daughter-in-law and a daughter. We can thus see that there might be a reason for a family to choose the sīm-pûà form of marriage even though they were wealthy enough to afford the preferred form of marriage. Whereas the preferred marriage creates a complex of relationships which are a threat to the goals of the kē, the relationships created by the sīm-pûà marriage are generally conducive to the achievement of these goals. It is not enough for parents to produce sons and grandsons. They must also be certain that these children will not be alienated from them in the course of their lifetimes, and in terms of this goal the sīm-pûà marriage has real advantages over the preferred form of marriage.

But one further question needs to be considered to make this argument complete. The sīm-pûà marriage may be more conducive to family harmony than the preferred form of marriage, but are the people of Hsiachichou generally aware of this? If they are not, can we say

*121 that the high frequency of sīm-pûà adoptions is partially explained
*583 by this structural advantage? Curiously enough, the question is one
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183 which is not even asked in many anthropological analyses. Having abstracted what he considers to be the structural requirements of the system, the analyst then explains this or that aspect of the system in terms of its relationships to these needs, never asking himself whether or not the people who constitute the society are aware of these requirements. Such explanations strike this anthropologist as being comparable to saying that a person's heart beats because he will die if it doesn't. Social structure and culture do not act. Only individual human organisms act, and they act only in terms of their own motives and their own goals. The needs of a social system can only become explanations of the existence of certain aspects of that system when these needs can be phrased in terms of the goals and motives of human actors. We therefore consider it of particular importance to point out that the people of Hsiachichou are very much aware of the structural advantages of the sīm-pûà form of marriage. They sometimes choose this form of marriage over the preferred form of marriage because they recognize that such a marriage has advantages with regard
*583 to what they consider the important goals of the family. After point-
*593 ing out that the sīm-pûà form of marriage has the advantage of being
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183 considerably less expensive than the preferred form of marriage, many
606 of our informants then went on to note that the sīm-pûà marriage assures a family of having a daughter-in-law "who will listen to your words." When asked why it was important to have a girl such as this, the typical

informant pointed out that "this makes it better because she won't always be talking to her husband about his parents." The following statement by an elderly village woman is typical of statements by other villagers.

> "It is always better for a boy to marry an adopted daughter than to marry a girl from another family. This is because you can get to know an adopted daughter's disposition better and can correct her without causing a lot of trouble. A girl from another family will always get mad when you try to correct her, and then she will say things to her husband and make trouble with his parents."

The choice between the sīm-pûà marriage and the preferred marriage would thus seem to involve at least three major considerations. Weighing in favor of the preferred marriage is the fact that it is the socially correct way of marrying and the most prestigious form of marriage. It is the form of marriage which everyone in Hsiachichou would choose if form were the only consideration. Favoring the sīm-pûà form of marriage is the fact that it is the cheaper way of obtaining a wife for a son, and also the recognition that it creates a structure which is more compatible with the goals of the family. By adopting a girl and raising her as a wife for their son a family replaces a tense and dangerous relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law with the more satisfactory mother-daughter relationship. Generally speaking, wealthy families of the pre-1930 period chose the preferred marriage more often than the sīm-pûà marriage because they were more concerned with status and could afford the expense of such a marriage. Poorer families, on the other hand, more often chose the sīm-pûà form of marriage as a way to avoid the

near ruinous expense of the preferred marriage. There was not, however, a perfect correlation between these decisions and the family's wealth. Many of the wealthiest families in the community apparently chose the sīm-pûa marriage because of its structural advantages, and many of the poorer families decided in favor of the preferred form of marriage as a means of enhancing their social standing. Given the structural advantages of the sīm-pûa form of marriage and the generally low economic status of most of Hsiachichou in the years before 1930, the fact that as many as half of the families living in the community did not adopt sīm-pûa for their sons testifies to the importance of prestige and tradition as determinants of behavior in the traditional society.

Hsiachichou who did not. What is perhaps more important, when girls do find a husband outside the family they still bear a certain stigma. A girl who is adopted as a sīm-pûà is in some sense married simply as a result of the adoption, regardless of whether or not she ever becomes her foster brother's wife. If she later marries out of the family, she is said to "have married twice," and is regarded with much the same disparagement as the widow who remarries. When we asked one village woman if a sīm-pûà could marry out of her foster family, she answered "Yes, you can do that, but it doesn't look good. People will say, 'Oh, that woman who married twice!'"

We have seen in the last chapter that the sīm-pûà marriage has several very real advantages over the preferred form of marriage. It is much less expensive than the preferred marriage and it is also more conducive to family harmony. Why was it then that most young people refused to make such marriages as soon as they had acquired a voice in the matter of their own marriage? Why was it that some girls preferred prostitution to marrying their foster brothers? Why is it that the parties to the sīm-pûà marriage have always had to be "pushed together?" When asked such questions many village informants answered in such a way as to suggest that they found the idea of such a marriage personally distasteful. Several women told us that they thought that marrying one's foster brother was bŏu ī-sū, "meaningless" or "dull;" and a number of others indicated that they felt that such a marriage was kiàn-siǔ, "embarrassing." Although the sīm-pûà marriage is culturally recognized and socially acceptable, the impression we were

*584 given by many villagers was that they privately regard it as something
*597 very like incest. While we were told that marriage with a distant
• 183 clan mate is regarded as incest, none of our informants seemed to
835 display any personal revulsion in their attitudes toward such a union. In the case of the sīn-pûà marriage, on the other hand, it was agreed that no one could criticize a person for making such a marriage, but at the same time most people seem to feel uncomfortable about the idea of making such a marriage themselves. The discrepancy between social and private attitudes to the sīm-pûà marriage is perhaps most apparent in the behavior of those young people who refused to make such a marriage. They realize that the marriage is proper and feel guilty about not acquiescing in their parents' plans, but still they say that they could not submit to the marriage "because it was embarrassing."

Because of this embarrassment we were unable to get most of the villagers to discuss their feelings about the sīm-pûà marriage in any detail. Questions about the subject usually elicited the same kind of response as questions about personal sexual habits. One of the few exceptions was a young woman who talked to us at some length about her reason for refusing to marry her foster brother. While we do not have the information necessary to say that her reactions are typical, they do at least seem congruent with the less specific reactions of other informants.

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"My father was so mad at me when I didn't want to marry my brother, but there was nothing he could do. I just wouldn't do it, and I wouldn't run away either. There

#589 #593 #599 835 183 was nothing he could do. They couldn't just kick me out of the house. He used to get so mad at me that he wouldn't even talk to me, but now he seems to have gotten over that. Now he understands me better, and is nice to me."

Did he try to make you marry your brother?

"Of course. Everyone here tried very hard. He didn't say anything to me himself; he had my mother talk to me. All the neighbors helped, too. He also sent for my real mother to talk to me but she can't argue very well. When I said something to her she didn't know what to say next. The neighbors would say something to her, and she would get mad and come and scold me. I told her, 'I'm going to be very filial. It's not that I'm not filial. I just don't want to marry him. I will treat you even better later than I treat you now.' I tried very hard to be filial to her, but when I asked her to come and go to a movie or something, she would say, 'Oh, let's wait until he (the informant's foster brother) gets married.' But then she died just after he married. I tried very hard to be filial to her but I just didn't get the chance. Even now that I'm not married I don't feel bad about what I did. My brother and his wife are happy. If I had given in and married him, I am sure that we would dislike each other very much by now."

But don't lots of people who marry in this way get along pretty well?

"Well, those who really get along are very few. You can say that none of them like it. Really, it is meaningless to marry your foster brother. I really think it is meaningless. One day after I refused a friend of mine who married a mainlander invited me to dinner at her house and my real father was there. After we had had dinner he began to scold me, telling me that I ought to marry my brother. I was so mad. I didn't like him in the first place, and when he did this I just felt that he was trying to lose my face and let everyone know that I wasn't filial. I got so mad my hands were cold, and I almost passed out. My mother was the one who bore me so she understood more, and she finally made him stop talking. But I was really mad. When I went home for a visit after my brother was married my father said to me, 'I don't see how you can stand it. How can you go on living in that house? I would have thought that you would have run away a long time ago.' When you think about it, it is meaningless for me to go on living here, but I felt like telling him, 'How can you think that I could come back here and get used to living with all of you again? From the time

#584 I was a child I hated you for giving me away, so how could
#593 I live with you now?' But I didn't dare say this because
#597 they were my real parents."

835 Why did your father say that you should be embarrassed to go
• 183 on living here?

"After I had done this there was no point in my living here anymore. My foster mother was the only one who really liked me, and she was already dead then. There just wasn't any point to it anymore. But I just couldn't make myself think of going to live with my real parents. Not even now that I am older and understand it all. And I really don't see how my foster father could have tried to make me marry my brother. When he married his foster sister she ran away after two days and never came back again. I'm sure he must remember that, and so I don't see how he could want me to make such a marriage. His foster sister lives in Taipei now, and she lives very well. The one time I met her though she was very embarrassed. After she ran away she married again, and she now has a very good life."

Why didn't she run away before she was married?

"I don't know. I guess she was just better behaved than I am. But then after she married the more she thought about it the more meaningless it was, and so the only thing she could do was to run away. And I think that was the best thing for her to do."

Why do you say that it would have been meaningless for you to marry your foster brother?

"I don't know. I just couldn't do it. I felt embarrassed about it. At that time I thought to myself, 'It is just because I'm young and don't want to get married yet.' And I didn't want to get married but that wasn't the real reason. I think that it was because he was my brother. Marrying your brother! I felt embarrassed about it. I don't even talk to him now unless I have to. I don't know why it is, but I just feel embarrassed about it."

#584 The parties to the preferred marriage or the matrilocal marriage
#597 do not ordinarily meet until they are biologically mature, but the
#593 man and woman who become husband and wife in the sim-pûa marriage are associated with one another from early childhood. A woman with male

CHAPTER 13

THE EXCEPTIONS

128 183 58 The great majority of the people of Hsiachichou marry young and early in their marriage bear the children who will perpetuate their family line and support them in their old age. Occasionally, however, it happens that a man or woman does not marry, or, more often, that [54] they do not marry until later in life. Also, there have been a number of women in Hsiachichou whose lives have departed from the normal pattern as a result of their having been forced to work as prostitutes. Since the situation of these people is obviously very different from that of the person who married at the normal time, we have thus far largely excluded them from our discussion of marriage and adoption. To fill this lacuna in our analysis, we will consider some of the conditions which create these exceptions. Why do some men and women never marry, and why is it that a number of women work for a time as prostitutes? Secondly, we will look at the decisions these people make about male and female adoption. How often do they adopt children, and what are some of the considerations which enter into their decisions? Finally, we will be interested in the effects of prostitution upon the family. How does the family in which a daughter is forced to work as a prostitute differ from one in which she marries in the normal way? While recognizing that prostitutes and the unmarried constitute exceptions to the villagers' expectations, we will attempt to show that these exceptions follow a regular pattern.

prestige; which would be most likely to cause them embarrassment? The importance of these considerations is most evident in the choice between the preferred marriage and the sīm-pûa form of marriage. The sīm-pûa marriage is economically and structurally the more advantageous, and yet the preferred marriage is the more common. Although it may be that we have overlooked other advantages of the preferred marriage in our analysis, it would appear that the reason so many villagers favor this form of marriage is simply that it is the more prestigious way to marry.

If this is indeed the case, it is important for us to discover why the preferred form of marriage enjoys this favored status. One reason is, of course, that it provides a family with an opportunity for display and conspicuous consumption. While the cost of the preferred marriage is one of its greatest disadvantages, it is also one of its greatest advantages. Nonetheless, this is not the entire answer. The prestige enjoyed by the preferred marriage is at least in part a function of the fact that it is considered the correct and proper way to marry, the natural form of marriage. It is the cultural standard for all forms of marriage, and all other forms are therefore imperfect by comparison. But why should this be the case if the sīm-pûa marriage is the more advantageous economically and structurally? How is it that the preferred marriage has become the standard? We raise the question not because we have the answer, but because we would like to have the answer. Structural studies have gone a long way towards specifying the sociological advantages and disadvantages of various

social arrangements, but they have as yet told us very little about the processes by which one of these forms acquires the advantage of precedence. The strongest voice for conservatism in any society is probably the one which asks, "What will people think?" and it would seem of particular importance for us to discover how the standards for public evaluation come into being.

We have seen in the preceding chapters that the three forms of marriage practices in Hsiachichou create three very different forms of the family. The structure of the family resulting from the preferred marriage is different from that created by the sim-pua marriage, and the structures resulting from the two forms of patrilocal marriage are again different from those produced by any of the various types of matrilocal marriage. Perhaps the most important point we have to make on the basis of our analysis is that these varying forms of the family are not simply products of decisions about marriage: they are also to a considerable extent responsible for these decisions. The people of Hsiachichou are aware of the differences resulting from the three forms of marriage, and they take these into account in making decision about the marriages of their sons and daughters. We emphasize this point because we would argue that it is only when the members of a society are themselves aware of the advantages and disadvantages of any type of social arrangement that these can be called upon to explain the existence of such arrangements. Different forms of marriage and adoption may have different functions and dysfunctions, but these are only relevant in explaining these practices when they can be counted among

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

ever, were equally cooperative in discussing the Lim family genealogy. By their account, after the birth of Lim Hue-lieng, his mother bore a girl. To Lim Han-ci as well as to his neighbors, raising a girl is a luxury.

As soon as a daughter is old enough to be useful in the house or in the fields, she is also old enough to marry and leave the family (at no small expense to her parents) to give her labor and her sons to another family. The general village attitude is summed up in the words of an old lady who told me why she disposed of her daughters: "Why should I want so many daughters? It is useless to raise your own daughters. I'd just have to give them away when they were grown, so when someone asked for them as infants I gave them away. Think of all the rice I saved."

Faced with a luxury in which he did not want to indulge, Lim Han-ci took the same course. The girl was given to another family as a "little bride," to be raised as a wife for one of their sons. As Lim Han-ci's wife had milk to nurse a child, the family then adopted a girl from a third family to raise as a wife for their own son, Lim Hue-lieng. The family thus ridded themselves of a "useless" daughter and acquired a girl, Lim A-pou, who could marry their son and perpetuate their line of descent. In giving away their own daughter they saved themselves the expense of raising her and providing her dowry; in adopting another child in her place they avoided paying an extravagant bride price for an adult daughter-in-law. Marriages involving a "little bride" do not have the prestige of those that bring a daughter-in-law into the home as a young adult, but they are recognized by local custom throughout northern Taiwan and were common among poor peasant families at the time. Nearly half of the village men of Lim Han-ci's generation married in this fashion. The early and prolonged association of husband and wife often affects their later marital relationship, but this is not considered adequate reason for foregoing the advantages of such a marriage. The desires of the parents and the needs of the family take precedence over the personal interest of the children.

In the ten years between the birth of Lim Hue-lieng and Lim Chieng-cua several unexpected things happened to Lim Han-ci's family. A year or two after the adoption of Lim A-pou another son was born. For one reason or another, probably simply because a suitable child became available, Tan A-hong was adopted at once to be his

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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159 596 183 578 According to their relatives and neighbors, the Lim family could solve all their troubles by simply dividing their property and becoming separate independent family units. The large, extended family living together under one roof and contributing their incomes to a common purse is accepted by all Taiwanese as an ideal toward which every family should strive, but few have been able to maintain this form of family for any period of time. The fact that the Lims have done so makes them uneasy and watchful. Lim A-pou, with her devotion to the old traditions, has until recently been quite proud of this further accomplishment of her family, but as my stay in the village lengthened, it was obvious that she now wished a division of the family, no matter what it cost her principles and pride. Her growing dissatisfaction with Lim Chieng-cua's management of the family is not entirely emotional. She remembers poverty more vividly than the younger members of the family and in her mind it is intimately connected with tenant farming. Land, for her, is the only stable unit in an economy that changes as often and as disastrously as Taiwan's. When she sees income from the land going to pay factory workers, she imagines a day when pieces of land may be sold to enlarge the factory or pay its debts. Recent years seem less prosperous than past years. Better that the property be divided now, while it is still in the form of land, than later, when it may be an intangible piece of the factory. Lim A-pou does not understand nor trust the world in which her foster brother operates.

159 596 578 604 607 431 626 In her quiet campaign for division A-pou first made sure that she had the sympathy of her neighbors, for the opinions of neighbors have no small influence on arbiters in the settlement of family differences. Then, she began to urge her eldest son to be less compliant in his dealings with his uncle.

How successful she is in exacerbating the tensions already existing between uncle and nephew can be seen in a quarrel I had no choice but to witness. Lim A-bok walked into the dining room, grumbling to himself as he read a letter. "This man! He should be embarrassed to write a letter begging me for cucumbers. If he scorns people so much, why should I pay any attention to him."

Lim Chieng-cua looked up and asked, "What letter is that? Who is it from?" A-bok handed him the letter which he quickly read. "What's wrong with this? What's the matter?"

Lim A-pou came in carrying some buckets and said, "We never let him feed us three meals. How can he do this?"

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

epilogue

[p.148]

SEPARATE STOVES

596 592 578 A few months after our return to America, we received a letter from a friend who had recently visited the Lims. The price was too high, the innovation has failed. The Lims have divided their property and established independent households. Lim A-bok continues to cultivate all the family land, but he now works Lim Chieng-cua's share of the land as a tenant. The family remains in the same house. They continue to share the guest hall and to worship there together, but some of the doors connecting their apartments have been nailed closed. The final admission of defeat is the presence of a new kitchen in the back of the house: they have divided the stove.

596 592 578 123 Our physical presence in the house was obviously the last delay of the inevitable. With our rooms scattered as they were through the building, it would have been difficult to arrange an equitable division without disturbing our living arrangements and creating even more controversy over the terms of the property settlement. The Americans and their rent were part of the estate. No matter how much she desired the division, even Lim A-pou was unwilling to have it take place with the acrimony common to most family divisions. If there had to be a step down, it must be made with dignity. Perhaps they viewed those final months of waiting as a sacrifice to Lim Han-ci—that his hope for a united family of many generations living under one roof might be a reality somewhere, even if only in the minds of foreigners.

596 178 769 [183] Essentially, the house of Lim is no more. From the point of view of their neighbors, the Lims are "just like us now." They have returned to the cycle of growth and division which is the Chinese farmer's compromise with an ideal. But, on the altar in their guest hall there remains the ancestral tablet of Lim Han-ci. The strength of his personality and of his memory held them together for many years. In the end, it was not enough.

121 between observed and expected female behavior. After my
562 return to Michigan State University, I carefully reviewed the traditional literature in the light of this apparent discovery. There were many clues suggesting that the previous case had been overstated. There were a few examples of others who had already made the identical discovery, the earliest in the report of Yosaburo Takekoshi which was based on an extensive tour of Taiwan early in the period of the Japanese occupation. He illustrates this contrast between preparation and observation suggested previously in a single sentence:

> I had heard that the women of China were grevously [sic] oppressed, and I expected to find it the same in Formosa, but, after carefully investigating the facts, I have come to the conclusion that Formosan women enjoy more freedom in many respects than is allowed to their sisters in China (1907:310).

121 My discussion and interpretation of female behavior
183 are disturbing to some educated Chinese for they too are
562 enculturated in terms of their own "Great Tradition." Chinese friends who have read some of the following chapters argue that too much emphasis has been placed on the exceptions instead of on the actual traditional patterns. At a party one night, nine Chinese student friends stated that men usually controlled all the money in a Chinese household. However, in answer to my direct question about their own households, only two stated that their fathers controlled the money and the other seven, their mothers.

121 After a few minutes of discussion, eight of the nine stu-
183 dents agreed that the fathers were proper and standard and
562 the seven female examples in their respective homes were all exceptions. One student felt he needed further data. The facts in the example support my argument; the students' beliefs do not. The contrast between the facts and beliefs suggests the strong influence of the "Great Tradition" on individual members of a society. The nine students were actually surprised by the extent of female influence in their collective homes. Those in homes where mother was in control were somewhat surprised to find so many others in like positions. A. P. Wolf reports a similar kind of discrepancy between the "case enumeration summary" and the "villager's general summary" with regard to the frequency of marriage types in a Taiwanese village (1968).

121 A mechanism for the causes of incomplete observations and conclusions has been suggested, the previous internalization of a "Great Tradition." Cognitive dissonance theory (Festinger, 1957) helps explain the persistence of the belief in the face of contrary evidence. Cognitive dissonance theory states that when we obtain information which is inconsistent with our current beliefs, we are in a conflict situation. The conflict may be resolved by "denying" the new information or by changing the belief (Heiss, 1968:10). The examples previously listed

562 There is yet a goodly distance between the status
562 of men and the status of women. For example, only men are
276 permitted to smoke, a practice which is enjoyed by almost
all adult males in the village. When a boy is able to
[757] earn a man's wage, he too usually starts to smoke. Women
however, are not supposed to smoke and the two Sanlei
women who do smoke regularly are not from high status
families and both justify smoking in terms of its medici-
nal qualities, i.e., it is said to relieve a tickle in
the nose. Other adults also say the two have to smoke
but the statement is often quite "tongue in cheek" as
when one village woman about age twenty-five said that
when she was forty or so, she was also going to develop
[183] nose trouble and take up smoking. The justification is
another instance of the mechanism of avoiding conflict and
refusing to recognize violations of village norms in order
to promote harmony (see Chapter IV).

857 Small children have considerable play time but soon
[231] assume minor responsibilities. Older children care for
younger children regardless of sex and most children make
some economic contribution to their households through
such tasks as gathering grass for buffalo and pigs. Young
girls help mother and boys help father but it appears that
girls have more responsibilities than boys.

562 Given the differential values listed above regard-
882 ing adult males and adult females, adolescent boys face a

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

666 562 women. Conversely, women rarely talk politics in front of men and almost never promote candidates. After my promise of secrecy, a few women told me of voting the opposite of their husbands. I am sure some village men would be quite surprised to learn that their wives had not automatically voted for the candidates they had selected.

562 666 183 The underlying principle governing the above pattern of behavior, i.e., refusing to acknowledge a conflict situation or refusing to acknowledge many violations of normative standards, has appeared before in this account of Sanlei Ts'un in such guises as a female's behavior towards her husband's relationship with children in a female-managed household or in the manner in which poor villagers receive aid. It will appear again in many other forms and will be considered in the last chapter as it undoubtedly is a contributing factor to the various misconceptions about women's roles.

Let me illustrate the basis for this factor in another context. My wife once demonstrated that although American husbands and wives do not become more like each other in terms of opinionation and closed-mindedness (Rokeach and Rothman, 1965), the happier the marriage, the less the partners admitted implicitly they were different. That is, a person experienced less conflict when he was able to consciously feel that he and his spouse held

562 identical opinions. In the previous discussion of Sanlei
666 voting behavior, the ability of a man to delude himself
183 into thinking his wife voted as he did is positively related to the domestic harmony which is highly evaluated in the village.

Divisions of Local Government and Politics

621 There are three formal units of government at the local level and one unit which is important but does not fit well into the system. The smallest significant political unit is the lin or neighborhood. In the Sanlei area, each lin contains about 10 or 11 contiguous households.

624 Each lin has a lin chang (neighborhood leader) who is elected on the basis of consensus in Sanlei at an open meeting. He is responsible for communicating directives to the people and aiding the local mayor in carrying out his duties. Because a lin chang may be held responsible for what happens in his lin, there is some reluctance to assume the office. We heard many times that under the Japanese, a village lin chang once spent three days in jail after a bandit was arrested in his lin. Also people say that the office means only work with no corresponding power or money.

632 The next larger formal important political unit is the li which has three officers: the li chang (li head or mayor), the representative who serves on the township council, and the village secretary. The first two are

183 The above discussion may falsely suggest an idyllic
476 view of life in Sanlei, all peace and harmony, whereas
621 actually, there are many violations of the underlying
626 principles such as have already been pointed out, i.e., the man who refused to accept a consensus, and others will be discussed later. The man who refused to contribute his proper share to the temple committee has a reputation for cheapness, has a little more difficulty hiring workers during the busy season (his bonus of a meal is considered likely to consist of poor and cheap food), and he was insulted in public by the gods at the last major celebration (see Chapter VII). The mayoral candidate who refused to cooperate with the general consensus was badly defeated for mayor and also for the next office for which he campaigned.

The Fruit Cooperative

494 Taiwan has six Fruit Cooperatives, primarily market-
245 ing organizations although minimal levels of guidance and
[177] assistance are also provided. These cooperatives are all continuations of Japanese-established organizations. Talei Li belongs to the Ch'i Chang branch, one of six branches in the Taipei Fruit Cooperative which specializes in citrus fruit.

As farmers in Talei Li have taken up citrus cultivation, they have regularly joined the association.

For the two days preceding and the two days following the census, the transportation system for the entire island is overloaded with people traveling to and from their official residences and the place where they actually reside.

There are various reasons for the failure to register significant changes. Since an old cultural value maintains it is best not to bring yourself to the attention of government officials for any reason, registration acts are avoided because they necessitate contact with government officials. Another error derives from the prestige associated with the large extended family, ta chia ting. A family may actually have divided with one branch migrating to the city, but if the division is not officially registered, the family can maintain a pretense that the move is temporary and the family has not really divided. Conversely, there were two factors causing some families to divide on paper but not in fact in spite of the high values associated with the extended family. By dividing into smaller units, they hoped to retain land in the various land reform processes and further, hoped to obtain draft deferments. The confusion and misinformation which was rampant at the time of the various "Land Reform Laws" caused a final form of over-registration. Some small landlords who lived in the city or a town migrated to the village officially, on paper but not in fact, in order to

maximize the possibility of retaining their land. In summary there is both under-registration and over-registration and although the absolute number of people by actual residence and official records is quite similar, they differ considerably in specific characteristics. Total Sanlei errors are similar to these found in a sample survey of a community north of Taipei: 11% registered but not living in the community and 5% living in the community without registering (P.K.C. Liu, 1967:17).

Information regarding individuals is also frequently inaccurate; the categories of education and occupation are the most misleading. Birth and death records are quite good. Marriages are official only if recorded, but several common-law marriages have been recognized by participants and fellow villagers although the couple are only listed as "living together" in the official records. Common-law marriages may be legalized eventually, in one case after 13 years. In one extreme case a "Liao" separated from his wife who still lives in a nearby village. He has been living with a different woman in Sanlei Ts'un for the past 23 years and they are listed in the records as just living together. They have six children, each registered under the woman's surname with the space for father's name left blank. About two to three months after birth, the man officially adopted each child, changing the surname to Liao. Practically, the couple behave as if

217 married, are so considered by villagers, and the unit con-
183 stitutes a family in village affairs even if not officially
588 registered. In this example, the couple claim that it is less onerous to live together and adopt the children than to obtain a divorce and remarry because marriage to someone who is divorced is negatively evaluated. (The way I first learned of two of the three cases of marriage where one partner had been divorced was through a check of official records.) Although the man said it was not a factor, the fact that the brother of the first wife was the sworn brother of the man in the example cited above may have been important. I was not able to obtain agreement about the significance of this point.

125 In the discussion to follow, the actual residence
591 patterns based on the field census are used rather than official records. A family is included in the village if a majority of its members sleep in the village a majority of the time. A family officially registered as divided but in fact living and cooking together as a single unit is counted as a single unit (one case). Conversely, a family which had not divided officially but was living and eating separately in two or more units was counted as more than one unit (two cases). An individual is considered a resident if he regards Sanlei as his home and he sleeps in the village at least one night per week. Thus, a girl who works in a factory and sleeps in a dormitory but usually

125 spends one or two nights at home is a resident. On the
591 other hand, a boy in the army is not a resident.

161 With the above standards, as of September 1, 1966,
162 the actual population of Sanlei Ts'un was 409, divided into 66 households, an average household size of 6.2 members.

Family Types and Distribution

596 The villagers believe the patrilineal extended
[183] family (ta chi ting) is an ideal. In any discussion, the largest family in Sanlei is often used as an example of the best family and the old father, Liao Mou-tu, who is still the chia chang is held as a model of sagacity and wisdom. A diagram of his family, a single economic unit, appears in Figure 5. This example approaches the maximum for the definition. An extended family[3] usually contains at least three generations although this is not a defining characteristic (Lang, 1946:14). Minimumly, to be classified as an extended family, there must be at least two marriages in the same generation or in non-adjacent generations. An absolute minimum size extended family would have four members: two brothers and their respective wives. The family may be broken but still meets the minimal definition, i.e., a marriage counts even if one partner is dead. There are eight extended families in Sanlei,
[62] 12.1% of the 66 households, ranging in size from 6 to 19

125 adopting-in or adopting-out parents but in a few cases,
592
597 only the adopted child.

Regular Marriage

58 There is a traditional ideal form of marriage, one
[183] arranged by a matchmaker between two families who are strangers or who are at least not already related, the boy's family slightly richer than the girl's, and with the couple residing permanently in the home of the groom's father. This marriage should occur when the male completes his military service and he should be two to four years older than his wife but a greater age span is acceptable.

592 Although all but patrilineal parallel cousin marriages are permitted for parts of China, no cousin marriages were recorded for Sanlei Ts'un as villagers claimed they were acceptable but undesirable. This differs from Gallin's study on Taiwan's West Central plain where cousin marriages were estimated to total about four per cent (1966:153). There is absolute surname exogamy. Additionally, although not as strongly sanctioned, marriage between members of certain paired surnames are not permitted, i.e., Chien and Liao, although there was one example in the village. Outside of these restrictions, there is no patterned regularity indicating certain surnames commonly marry each other. Statistically, there is a strong tendency towards

584 554 183 123 Careful collection of data is necessary in obtaining marriage rates by types for there is a tendency to disguise the latter two types as if they were the highly rated arranged form. One man in Sanlei once told me he had an "arranged marriage" and did not see his bride until the wedding. I later learned he and his wife were from the same village, they grew up in homes only 100 feet apart, and both played on the same school tag-ball team. (For discussion of marriage events, see Chapter VIII.)

Incorporation of the Bride

593 851 Marriage does not make the bride a full-fledged member of her new family for a wife attains a status in her husband's home only through her children, especially sons (C. K. Yang, 1959a:89). This value, true for much of China, has been clearly expressed by Fei:

> . . . the legal act of marriage, although preceding the birth of a child, always anticipates the realisation of parenthood . . . the full status of a woman is acquired after the birth of a child. Similarly, the affinal relation remains impotent unless a child is born . . . (1939:30).

This is also true in Sanlei, a wife is not fully incorporated into her husband's chia until after she has a child. As will be discussed later, an adopted child may be substituted for a natural child. In spite of the fact that the literature suggests that barren women could be divorced (Lang, 1946:40), no one in Sanlei had ever heard of it happening.

583 ethnographies has a higher percentage of adopted-in hus-
558 bands than Sanlei and Hsu states that such a husband does not have low status (1967:98). Sanlei villagers indicate it is a natural process to adopt husbands, what else can a family without a son do?

583 The frequency of this form of marriage has impor-
183 tant implications for the role of women. There are prob-
123 ably regional variations across China with respect to rates but, as stated, rarely are competent data provided in ethnographic studies to support the summaries and abstractions. Because of the low status usually claimed for chao fu marriage, it is likely the estimates by villagers on which the summary may be based would be low. Among 15 Sanlei men, the average guess at the incidence of chao fu marriage was 1 in 10 with a single high guess of 1 in 7 by an old man. Since the actual incidence was higher than 1 in 4, this inaccuracy is significant. If this dissertation was based on interviews and the impressions of informants rather than on actual counting, a quite different picture would likely have emerged.

593 Many, if not all accounts of the Chinese family
583 discuss the great period of stress for the new bride when she enters her husband's home as a virtual stranger as one important factor contributing to her lowly condition. Conversely, few reports discuss the role of men in the case of the chao fu marriage who enter the bride's home as a

584 However, four promiscuous women do reside in Sanlei and
581 villagers consider one insatiable. Of these four women,
837 two were formerly simosiv. This frequency is highly significant by sign although the "n" is too small for adequate testing. Among siaosiv, there is a high proportion of quite unhappy marriages and one childless marriage, the only childless marriage of ten years or more in which the wife was under 25 at marriage and in which the couple still refuses to adopt a child.

584 Everyone in the village argues why a siaosiv mar-
183 riage is a good idea for someone else. Their reasons emphasize both the economies to be realized and the positiveness of good relations between mother and daughter-in-law which must have been present if the match had been proposed. The reasons given for not personally desiring this kind of marriage was always either, "I would be too embarrassed," or, "It would not be interesting" (see Glossary C). It is significant that no man or woman in the village would prefer a siaosiv marriage.

178 The last siaosiv marriage in Sanlei Ts'un was in
584 1959 and since that date, three girls who had been adopted into the village as future mates married out in the regular fashion. As far as I could tell, only one of these was after an argument (a "love marriage" to a boy from T'oulei) while the adopted fathers of the other two claimed that they married the girls out because siaosiv marriage now

182 An examination of the situation from the point of view of
59 an individual actor suggests that the stem family is the most common form in Sanlei with the occasional appearance of an extended family. Indeed, almost every person beyond 60 years of age in the village is living in a unit larger than the nuclear family. I collected thirteen fairly extensive life histories (not a random sample of villagers) and in all thirteen, the subjects spent part of their lives in something larger than a nuclear household.

182 It can also be seen that adoption, marriage, and
• 183 descent events represent an attempt to realize cultural
59 values. Almost all villagers agree that the two most important items in the eighteen previously listed are those with reference to worship of ancestors (1) and the care for the aged (17). These can best be realized by getting married and having several male children who, in turn, marry and have male children. However, since this will often not be biologically possible, the various mechanisms discussed above provide alternative solutions. In place of natural sons are adopted sons or adopted-in husbands for natural daughters with shared offspring. There are even adopted daughters as substitutes for natural daughters in order to later adopt in a husband. Finally, the adoption of a daughter as <u>siaosiv</u> is both an attempt to acquire descendants in spite of the high cost of marriage and further, to promote the harmonious relations within a household

182 necessary to maintain an extended family. These processes
183 are a rational application of permitted alternatives to
59 achieve culturally defined goals.

The improvement of economic conditions, the rapidly changing demographic rates, and the changing values originating from the larger modernizing society are undoubtedly going to change the typical family life cycles previously described.

The Basis of Extra-Familial Kinship Organizations

121 Families are building blocks in the larger kinship
618 units, the clan and the tsu (lineage). The clan consists
613 of people who have the same surname and are therefore assumed to have descended from the same ancestor although the genealogical details are unknown. Fried (1957; 1966) has referred to this assumption as "stipulated descent" and contrasted it with the foundation for the lineage, "demonstrated descent," where the exact details of genealogical connections are known. There are a number of border situations found in Sanlei Ts'un which are difficult to place in either category.

618 Usually a surname was said to be established by some particular historical individual from whom generations are numbered such that most people know the number of their own generation. It is assumed then that although two individuals with the same surname may not know which is the most recent generational ancestor they share, i.e., eighth

602 or commissioner even though neither can really trace the
538 chain of ancestors linking themselves to him. For example,
551 if two men share the seventh word, their fathers the sixth, and grandfathers the fifth, they assume a shared ancestor eight generations earlier although neither has knowledge of any ancestors beyond grandparents. There are two such poems in process in Sanlei Ts'un, one of which is registered in the Liao Temple[11] near Taipei.

602 The poem system is not wholly accurate as a basis
538 for establishing relationships because, for religious
183 reasons, a child may get a unique middle name or someone who is not a regular descendant may start naming his descendants according to the poem. In this case he will match the generation number of his child to the poem word that has that generation number. After several generations pass, it is possible that no one would know that a line using the poem did not truly extend back to the poem writer or commissioner (or vice versa). Thus, although lines using the poem are assumed to share an ancestor closer than the founder, once more descent is not truly demonstrated. Nevertheless, people sharing a poem name are felt to be closer relatives than people not sharing one.

618 The above beliefs define a number of groups in the
602 village: those named Liao,[12] Liao who do not eat the chicken head, and two non-inclusive sets of Liao who are

The major exception involves girls who are hired by factories, particularly clothing factories. There is one small factory close enough to commute by bicycle daily and two factories which pick up the girls on a truck in the morning and return them each night. Although it is expected that each girl will turn over her money to the family, she is economically independent and usually has pocket money of her own. On Sunday, a non-work day, these girls travel in a group to the park, the theater, etc. Girls who work in the same place play together. Since there are three factories, there are three such groups, each related to a factory and cutting across village lines although seldom do groups include anyone living outside Talei Li.

I Ching (Voluntary Policemen)

The modern I Ching organization (voluntary policemen) was started for men in good health between the ages of 30 and 45 two to three years after the Restoration by the regular police organization. Men are available anytime for service but tend to be most active for the fifty days immediately preceding the lunar New Year. An old Chinese custom requires that all debts should be paid by New Year's day and the pressure to liquidate debts leads to an increase in the frequency of robbery although robbery is a fairly common crime on Taiwan in general. During the period of fifty days before New Year, the I Ching mount a night patrol in Talei Li.

Each member is furnished a rain coat, flash light,

183 791 787 There is a final kind of service that religious practitioners provide for community residents although few villagers would be likely to admit it explicitly, i.e., they provide justification for social acts which might be contrary to community standards or which might otherwise create difficulties in interpersonal relations. For instance, assume a family wants to give up a daughter in adoption but also does not want to create an impression that they are releasing her because the family can not afford her support. If a shaman of some kind orders the adoption, the family can accomplish it without censure by claiming the gods wishes must be obeyed. Someone can be found to interpret the god's desires in a manner so that anything and everything can be justified.

A Fire Purification Ceremony

796 783 As an extended case study, I will present an account of a non-cyclical but important religious event held in [171] Sanlei in November of 1966. The ceremony was entitled the "Fire Purification of the Gods" and differs only in minor details from that described by DeGroot for Mainland China (1892-1910). The essential part of the ceremony is ritual purification of the gods by carrying them through a fire of god's paper money in sedan chairs carried by bearers who are ritually clean and have no foot coverings.

[171] 184 [178] Similar ceremonies have occurred throughout Taiwan periodically with strong evidence they have increased in

783 At 1:00, everyone was back in the field and the
796 ceremony started again. The temperature was now much
787 hotter so it did not take as long as it had in the morning for the trances and running to start. A pair of chairs were carried down the hill, across the bridge, into the village proper, and in and out of the temple.
783 Many villagers became frightened as they observed the
796 chairs head for the village for if the gods were truly
784 angry with some man, the chair would enter his house and
626 do some damage. The fear was not of damage but of the
787 knowledge that the gods were strongly displeased. Fortunately, this did not happen although it had at the previous Erhlei ceremony to one important man. In this manner, any person in the community, no matter how important, can be severely criticized.

783 The gods spoke through two different young men at
796 various times while they were in trances. Both were sur-
787 named Liao and were members of old village families. One was a very proper and filial type but the other was considered a little too aggressive and had a reputation of frequenting the wine houses. The statements were in Taiwanese although any language is possible, even some spirit languages which can be translated only by a shaman. In total, there were more than seventy statements, at least one for every household in the village and a few extra
[783] general statements. Some statements were complementary

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but a majority were critical although all reinforced cultural values and standards.

A sample of the god's statements is listed below followed by my personal comments or explanations. As previously stated, in a normal situation, few of these statements would be permitted for seldom is there a face to face confrontation between an accuser and accusee unless the situation is going to degenerate into a serious fight. (Names are all disguised for obvious reasons.)

1. "Liao A.B.! You are a sincere man. I have helped you to recover your health. I am happy that you always come to clean and take care of the temple." [785] (Subject had prostate trouble with considerable discharge. After various types of medical and shamanistic treatment failed to bring relief, he made a pledge at the temple that if the gods helped he would worship daily forever. The pain is almost gone and he seldom has any more discharge. Each morning, at daybreak, he opens the temple, pai pai's with incense, and puts flowers in the vases. Every villager is aware of his pledge and performance.)

2. "Liao C.D.! You are a bad-hearted[9] woman. You would not clean the dirty ditch in front of your house so the dirty water runs into the pond where other villagers wash clothes and vegetables." [517] [364] (Subject immediately ran off to clean her ditch. She frequently quarreled with her husband and his brother's wife.)

3. "Liao E.F.! Your second son has poor health. I will give him a charm. He should drink it in the early morning." [758] (Subject is a community leader and head of an extended household. The charm is a package of herbs to be mixed with hot water. "To give" means that the speaking god will guide the proper stick out when the vase of medicine sticks is shaken.)

4. "Huang G.H.! Your wife is sick because she dried women's underpants in the kung t'ing in front of the gods. I will give you a charm for her to drink." [784] [753] [755] (Subject is a local official and well liked.)

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5. "Liao I.J.! Old man, you are a good person and serve the gods. But your son is a bad-hearted person. He says bad things about people behind their backs." (The son is unfilial and wants to marry a village girl but her parents are refusing the match by asking a bride price of more than five times the standard amount.)

6. "Huang K.L.! Your sons' eyes hurt because you picked a bad day to fix your kitchen. You never worship the god's soldiers on the 1st and 15th of each month. You should worship on these days. I will give you charms for your family to drink." (Subject has a reputation for cheapness and refuses to spend proper amounts on ritual.)

[725]
[593]

7. "Tu M.N.! Your eldest son is not strong because the altar in your kung t'ing is not properly located. You should think about your second son's marriage because he is too embarrassed to talk to you about it." (The altar is one of the two in the village on the side rather than the back wall in relationship to the door. The man through whom the gods were now speaking was the "second son" mentioned in the statement.)

8. "Chiu O.P.! Your son is fine. Do not worry about him." (Subject is poor but considered to be a good man. His son is in the army and stationed in Kin Men.)

As can be seen from the above samples, the gods speak through the young men to reinforce common values. We talked to many people afterwards and none thought that the two boys through whom the gods spoke were bad-hearted people; that is, they believed that the statements really came from the gods. They said that in the past, bad-hearted people have tried to pretend they were gods but they always got caught.

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796 About 3:30 p.m., the shaman interpreted a character written in the sand with the poles of a sedan chair as

000 important event: life crises, health, and economic. The
778 home is the central focus of worship and in all but two
[353] village homes, the most elaborate and expensive furnishings
are those connected with worship. The second most impor-
tant center is the temple which is the most elaborate and
771 expensive building in the community. Although Sanlei vil-
621 lage is highly integrated, only for religion does the com-
182 munity gather in one place to act cooperatively with any
182 degree of frequency. At the li level, the temple and
632 religion serve a similar function except that in addition
771 to religion, politics and the school also feature commun-
771 ity-wide cooperation and joint activities. Religion is
602 the unifying element, at least on a manifest basis, of
182 larger kinship organizations such as the compound and
575 lineage and such voluntary organizations as the sworn
brothers and god's associations.

771 Religious values support the dictums of social con-
626 trol. Although there are reasonably high levels of skep-
182 ticism regarding the efficacy of religious acts, no man is
truly an atheist, i.e., although many claim not to believe
that a particular act works or has power for good or evil,
almost everyone is afraid not to perform the required
ritual when it is specified as appropriate.

771 There are so many kinds of religious and magical
183 functionaries, that one can be found to recommend almost
182 any kind of desired action. This recommendation supports
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771 a villager in what otherwise might be an unpopular decision or action because he can then say the gods so order it.

Additionally, religious events are fun and along with certain life crises events, almost the only periods of gaiety in an otherwise fairly drab existence. It appears, as suggested in Potter's conception of "The Limited Good," richer villagers do fear to practice conspicuous consumption (1965). One normally avoids coming to the attention of villagers, government officials, and gods, in order to avoid arousing feelings of jealousy, but rich food and drink is not only permitted but is strongly encouraged for holidays. It is proper to offer expensive foods to the gods and whatever is left over when the gods finish can be eaten by anyone without fear of censure. Indeed, it should be shared with guests for jealousy is not aroused when people are only eating the god's left-overs. This set of beliefs permits both self-indulgence and a means for validating one's social position in the community, i.e., the richer the food, the higher the status. For guests (especially poorer ones), there is an opportunity to eat rich foods and delicacies rarely experienced.

It will be demonstrated in Chapter IX that religion also serves to regulate the divisions of time--yearly, monthly, and daily and that much of the leisure time is justified on a religious basis.

581 842 597 children, an adoption is still likely in order to provide security in old age. Historically, Taiwan has had a high sex ratio (Barclay, 1954:212) and nearly all females were able to marry; the rate exceeded 99% married every year since 1905 for women over 40. However, some men were necessarily without mates; never-married men over 40 always exceeded 4% for the same period (Barclay, 1954:211). Most men who never marry have some kind of social defect such as poverty or a drinking problem but many of these men also adopt children such as the two never-married men in Sanlei with adopted children.

842 178 183 125 Martin Yang reports that the number of children desired in the "ideal" family for Taiwan has been decreasing over time (1962:69). This finding is not based on a longitudinal study but on a comparative study using respondents in different generations. Interviews in Sanlei village support his findings. However, all attempts to simulate longitudinal studies by assuming an age range suffer the same obvious defects. For example, if Sanlei women beyond child-bearing ages are divided into two groups, those who bore more than four children and those who bore less, there is a strong positive correlation between the actual size of a woman's family and her report of an "ideal" size. For young married women, it is possible that the attitude may change in time, i.e., her desires and expectancies may become congruent with her real situation. Nevertheless, the number of children desired for an "ideal" family is

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significantly less for each ten-year age cohort. It is interesting that men's reports are nearly identical to their wives and both sexes agree that women are predominantly in control of the eventual family size.

The typical desired family size among women of childbearing ages (and their respective husbands) is now four or five with no one listing less than three and only three women and five men, more than six. The pair who desired the largest number was a married couple with ten children who both wanted twelve. In spite of the reported bias towards males, if the number is even, the desire is usually for an equal number of males and females, but if the desired number is odd, males are nearly always expected to constitute a majority of one. Only a few very old men reported a desire for nearly all males but everyone agrees that if a couple have only one child, he should be male.

These reports from Sanlei should not be construed such that there is not a strong preference for males. Rather, the preference is not as strong as has been suggested in some of the literature (see Chapter X). Almost everyone desires a male for the first child and a family with all boys will be viewed by neighbors as fortunate while a family with all girls is something to be pitied, but not as much as a family with no children at all. After a string of girls, a family may name the last as "our last daughter" in hope of breaking the chain of misfortune. There is no corresponding practice for a string of boys.